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PAGE 01 STATE 067116

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FOLLOWING SENT ACTION SECSTATE, INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS,
DUBLIN, MARCH 23, FROM NATO RPTD TO YOU:

QUOTE S E C R E T USNATO 1606

EXDIS

FOR SONNENFELDT AND HARTMAN FROM BRUCE

DEPT ALSO PASS USNMR SHAPE PERSONAL FOR GENERAL SEITH, FROM
AMBASSADOR BRUCE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR PO

SUBJ: DISCUSSIONS AT NATO ON PORTUGUESE DEVELOPMENTS

REF: A. USNATO 1601; B. USNATO 1602

BEGIN SUMMARY: AT MARCH 23 MORNING MEETING OF NATO CHIEFS OF
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SECRET

PAGE 02 STATE 067116

MISSION IN SYG LUNS OFFICE, THE FRG CHARGE REPORTED THAT BONN

HAD ASKED THE IRISH PRESIDENT OF THE EC-9 TO MAKE A DEMARCHE IN LISBON EXPRESSING COMMUNITY'S CONCERN OVER PORTUGUESE DEVELOPMENTS. FRG THINKS THIS SHOULD BE FOLLOWED UP BY SIMILAR BILATERAL APPROACHES BY EC-9 AND NATO MEMBER COUNTRIES. CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT HAS CALLED IN SOVIET CHARGE IN BONN REGARDING PORTUGAL, AND FRG THINKS OTHER ALLIES SHOULD TAKE SIMILAR ACTION. ITALIANS HAVE ALREADY DONE SO, BUT OTHER ALLIES ARE CLEARLY HANGING BACK AND WAITING FOR WORD ABOUT ANY U.S. DECISION ON CONTACTS WASHINGTON PLANS TO HAVE WITH THE SOVIETS. A FURTHER MEETING OF THE PORTUGAL GROUP WILL TAKE PLACE MONDAY, MARCH 24, AT 10:30 A.M. END SUMMARY.

1. MARCH 23 MEETING BEGAN AT 10:30 A.M. WITH SAME REPRESENTATIVES PRESENT AS AT MARCH 22 AFTERNOON MEETING (REFTELS). FRG CHARGE (BOSS) LED OFF BY STATING HIS GOVERNMENT WOULD LIKE RAPID ACTION ON PORTUGUESE AFFAIR. BONN HAS ASKED THE IRISH PRESIDENT OF THE EC-NINE TO HAVE THAT BODY MAKE A COLLECTIVE REPRESENTATION IN LISBON EXPRESSING THE COMMUNITY'S CONCERN OVER DEVELOPMENTS IN PORTUGAL. AFTER THIS IS DONE, THE FRG BELIEVES THERE SHOULD BE BILATERAL APPROACHES BY EC COUNTRIES. THE FRG ALSO THINKS OTHER NON-NINE ALLIANCE GOVERNMENTS SHOULD FOLLOW THE SAME LINE IN REPRESENTATIONS IN THEIR CAPACITY AS NATO ALLIES, I.E., TO CONVEY CONCERNS TO THE PORTUGUESE OVER THE POSSIBLE REPERCUSSIONS ON EC AND NATO OF ANY IMPRUDENT ACTION IN PORTUGAL, SUCH AS PERMITTING ANTI-NATO DEMONSTRATIONS. THE GERMANS FURTHER THINK THE PORTUGUESE SHOULD BE TOLD THEIR ALLIANCE WITH WESTERN COUNTRIES WOULD BE ADVERSELY AFFECTED BY A SUPPRESSION OF PLURALISTIC DEMOCRACY.

2. THE FRG CHARGE ALSO REPORTED THAT ON FRIDAY NIGHT (MARCH 21) CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT HAD CALLED IN THE USSR MINISTER IN BONN AND HAD OBSERVED TO THE SOVIET DIPLOMAT THAT THE SITUATION IN PORTUGAL COULD RESULT IN THE EMERGENCY OF CHATIC CONDITIONS. THE CHANCELLOR CONTINUED THAT ANY NATION WHICH HAD INFLUENCE IN PORTUGAL SHOULD USE IT TO AVOID SUCH AN UNDESIRABLE RESULT. WHEN QUERIED BY THE SOVIET MINISTER WHETHER HE HAD ANY SPECIFIC STEPS IN MIND, THE CHANCELLOR'S ANSWER WAS IN THE NEGATIVE. SCHMIDT DID NOT SPECIFICALLY REFER TO ANY POSSIBLE IMPACT ON DETENTE OR ON CSCE BUT THE CHANCELLOR'S ENTOURAGE BELIEVE THAT SOME SUCH AN INFERENCE MIGHT HAVE BEEN DRAWN BY THE SOVIET RE-

SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 STATE 067116

PRESENTATIVE.

3. THE FRG WOULD LIKE THE NATO ALLIES TO MAKE SIMILAR REPRESENTATIONS TO LOCAL USSR AMBASSADORS. CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT FURTHER FAVORS OFFICIALS PRESS STATEMENTS CALLING ATTENTION TO THE SERIOUS SITUATION IN PORTUGAL.

4. SEVERAL OF THOSE PRESENT REFERRED TO CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT'S

AVOIDANCE OF AN EXPLICIT LINK BETWEEN PORTUGAL AND CSCE/DETENTE, AND THEY AGREED THIS WAS A DELICATE MATTER WHICH SHOULD NOT BE IN DIRECT TERMS TO THE SOVIETS. BELGIAN AMBASSADOR DE STAERCKE SAID HE COULD STATE THAT THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT FAVORED THE FRG SUGGESTION FOR INSTRUCTIONS TO THE NINE REGARDING DEMARCHES TO PORTUGAL. THE ITALIAN AMBASSADOR REPORTED THAT THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR HAD BEEN CALLED IN LAST NIGHT BY THE ITALIAN FOREIGN OFFICE. NOTHING OF VALUE SEEMS TO HAVE COME OUT OF THIS CONVERSATION EXCEPT THE AFFIRMATION BY THE ITALIANS OF HOW DEPLORABLE THEY FOUND THE SITUATION IN PORTUGAL.

5. THE NORWEGIAN CHARGE (SELMER) ASKED WHAT TERMS SHOULD BE USED IN A PRESENTATION BY THE NINE TO THE PORTUGUESE. NO ANSWER WAS PROVIDED TO THIS INQUIRY.

6. THE SYG THEN ASKED WHETHER THE UNITED STATES HAD MADE ANY APPROACH TO THE USSR REGARDING PORTUGAL. BRUCE ANSWERED THAT WE HAD NOT AS YET HAD ANY CONTACT WITH THE SOVIETS ON THIS SUBJECT. THIS WOULD INVOLVE A DECISION IN WHICH THE SECRETARY OF STATE WOULD BE PERSONALLY INVOLVED. HE IS DUE IN WASHINGTON TODAY AND IT IS FELT HE WILL CERTAINLY TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE ATTITUDE OF OUR ALLIES ON THIS POINT.

7. DE STAERCKE THEN SAID THE BELGIAN GOVERNMENT WAS READY TO APPROACH THE USSR ONLY AFTER THE UNITED STATES HAS DONE SO. HIS AUTHORITIES ARE ALSO PREPARED, AT A PROPER TIME, TO BE EXTREMELY TOUGH IN INSISTING TO THE SOVIETS ON THE NECESSITY FOR STABILITY IN AREAS WHERE THEY HAVE INFLUENCE IF DETENTE IS TO BE A REALITY. UK CHARGE LOGAN STATED HIS GOVERNMENT DID NOT INTEND TO SPEAK TO THE SOVIET AMBASSADOR IN LONDON UNLESS THE UNITED STATES HAS DONE SO, OR PLANS TO DO SO. HE STRESSED U.K. OPPOSITION TO ANY INTERFERENCE WITH PORTUGUESE DOMESTIC POLITICAL PROCESSES. THIS STATEMENT WAS ACCEPTED AS REPRESENTATIVE.

SECRET

PAGE 04 STATE 067116

SENTING THE PRESENT VIEWS OF THE MEETING'S PARTICIPANTS.

8. TURKISH AMBASSADOR INQUIRED WHETHER RELATIVELY SMALL COUNTRIES, SUCH AS HIS OWN, SHOULD AT AN OPPORTUNE TIME APPROACH THE USSR ON THE SUBJECT OF PORTUGAL. THE SYG ANSWERED "WHY NOT". THERE WAS NO FURTHER DISCUSSION ON THIS POINT.

9. THE CHARGE OF DENMARK (VILLADSEN) WAS FEARFUL THAT THE PRESENT NATO MEETINGS ON PORTUGAL MIGHT BECOME PUBLICLY KNOWN. HE THOUGHT SECRECY ABOUT THEM IMPORTANT. THE SYG AND OTHERS AGREED ON THIS, THE SYG STATING HE WOULD CONFINE HIMSELF TO SAYING HE IS ACCUSTOMED TO CALLING IN SOME AMBASSADORS FROM TIME TO TIME TO EXCHANGE VIEWS ON AFFAIRS OF INTEREST TO NATO. IN THIS CONNECTION, FRG CHARGE BOSS STRESSED HIS GOVERNMENT CONSIDERS FRG REPORTS HE HAD PRESENTED TO THE PRESENT FORUM AS BEING FOR THE

EXCLUSIVE USE OF THOSE PRESENT AND THEIR GOVERNMENTS. CANADIAN AMBASSADOR MENZIES RATHER STARTLED HIS COLLEAGUES BY SHARING WITH THEM INSTRUCTIONS FROM OTTAWA IN WHICH REFERENCE IS MADE TO THE USSR NOT BEING ABLE TO EXERCISE ANY MORE INFLUENCE IN PORTUGAL THAN CAN "OTHER NATO COUNTRIES." THE CANADIAN PREMREP SUGGESTED THAT NATO COUNTRIES CALL IN THEIR LOCAL PORTUGUESE AMBASSADORS AND EXPRESS THEIR CONCERN OVER THE NECESSITY OF HOLDING FREE ELECTIONS. THE CANADIANS ARE OPPOSED TO A POSSIBLE COLLECTIVE NATO APPROACH TO MOSCOW, CONSIDERING THAT ANY APPROACHES MADE SHOULD BE BILATERAL. COMMENTING ON THE CANADIAN AMBASSADOR'S REMARKS, THE SYG SAID HIS INFORMATION WAS THAT THE KREMLIN COMPLETELY CONTROLS THE COMMUNIST PARTY IN PORTUGAL.

10. AFTER AN HOUR OF DISCUSSION, IT WAS DECIDED THAT THE GROUP SHOULD MEET AGAIN TOMORROW, MONDAY, AT 10:30, WITH THE HOPE AGAIN EXPRESSED THAT THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT WOULD HAVE INFORMED ITS REPRESENTATIVE OF WHAT DECISION, IF ANY, HAD BEEN REACHED ABOUT ITS COMMUNICATION WITH THE SOVIETS.

11. BRUCE, AS A FINAL PIECE OF BUSINESS, RELATED PARTS OF THE CONVERSATION BETWEEN MR. SONNENFELDT AND THE PORTUGUESE AMBASSADOR IN WASHINGTON. HE ALSO SUPPLEMENTED A REPORT BY THE U.K. CHARGE ON MEETINGS BETWEEN AMBASSADOR CARLUCCI AND THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR IN LISBON BY MENTIONING THE POSSIBILITY OF A MEETING OF LOCAL NATO AMBASSADORS IN LISBON (LISBON 1640 NOTAL). THIS WAS THOUGHT BY ALL TO BE A GOOD IDEA. BRUCE UNQUOTE. KISSINGER
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PAGE 05 STATE 067116

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